

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSC-05 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03
ACDA-12 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00
IO-13 EB-08 OMB-01 /094 W
-----009398 161750Z /41

R 161552Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3877
SECDEF WASHDC
JCS WASHDC
INFO USMISSION USNATO
USNMR SHAPE
XXXXXXX/ADD ADDEE
CINCUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GER
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES IT
CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN GER
CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON ENG

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: SP, NATO, MPOL, MARR
SUBJECT: HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON SPAIN AND NATO, MARCH 9-10

1. THIS IS THE THIRD OF THREE REPORTING CABLES ON THE
BILATERAL HIGH-LEVEL SEMINAR ON SPAIN AND NATO HELD
MARCH 9-10 IN MADRID. THE FIRST TWO ARE A GENERAL RE-

PORTING CABLE AND A REPORT ON THE SPANISH PRESENTATION ON GIBRALTAR. THIS REPORTS THE TALKING POINTS USED BY THE U.S. SIDE IN SUMMING UP THE DAY AND A HALF OF DISCUSSIONS.

2. BEGIN TEXT:
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- FROM OUR ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY BALANCE WE CONCLUDE THAT

- THE POTENTIAL THREATS ARE MULTIPLE, POLITICAL AS WELL AS MILITARY; THE SOVIET MILITARY REACH IS EXPANDING;

- THERE ARE SPECIFIC ASSETS BUILT INTO SPAIN'S GEOGRAPHIC POSITION, WHICH IN TERMS OF AN ENEMY ATTACK COULD BECOME VULNERABILITIES. SPAIN IS LIKELY TO BE DRAWN IN SOME WAY INTO ANY MAJOR CONFLICT IN EUROPE;

- SPAIN HAS A DIRECT STAKE IN THE DEFENSE OF EUROPEAN TERRITORY CLOSER TO THE WARSAW PACT; AND

- SPAIN'S SECURITY CANNOT BE CONSIDERED IN ISOLATION FROM THAT OF OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY.
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- MEMBERSHIP IN NATO OFFERS SPAIN THE OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE ONTO THE EUROPEAN STAGE AS A FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPANT IN DECISION-MAKING ON MAJOR SECURITY ISSUES WHICH ULTIMATELY AFFECT DIRECTLY HER OWN SECURITY; THE NATO DECISION-MAKING AND CONSULTATION PROCESSES AMPLIFY THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS.

- SPANISH MEMBERSHIP WOULD NOT BE DESTABILIZING POLITICALLY OR MILITARILY TO THE SITUATION IN EUROPE; A DETERIORATION IN SPAIN'S PRESENT COMMITMENT TO WESTERN DEFENSE WOULD BE.

- THE ECONOMIC COSTS TO SPAIN OF MEMBERSHIP SHOULD BE MODEST COMPARED TO THE STAKES INVOLVED AND THE OPPORTUNITIES TO INCREASE EFFECTIVENESS OF HER FORCES; IN ANY EVENT THE PROSPECTS OVER THE LONG RUN FOR ASSISTANCE BY SPAIN'S FRIENDS ARE GREATER WITHIN THE ALLIANCE THAN OUTSIDE.

- SPANISH MILITARY ROLES IN NATO WOULD BE A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF PRESENT ROLES.

- FAR FROM INTERFERING WITH SPAIN'S BILATERAL MILITARY RELATIONS WITH INDIVIDUAL NATO MEMBERS, SPANISH MEMBERSHIP WOULD REINFORCE AND HELP PRESERVE SUCH RELATIONSHIPS; WE BELIEVE THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF THE TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION.

- THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY SOUGHT BY SPAIN'S DEFENSE INDUSTRIES WOULD BE OBTAINED MORE EASILY AS AN ALLIANCE MEMBER THAN AS A NON-MEMBER; THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE

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IN THE CASE OF THE UNITED STATES.

- THERE IS NO U.S. OR NATO MASTER PLAN FOR AN IBERIAN
ROLE OR FOR USE OF IBERIAN TERRITORY; NATO'S MEMBERS
THEMSELVES DETERMINE NATO'S FOCUS; SPAIN AS A MEMBER
CAN INFLUENCE THAT FOCUS.

- OUR EFFORTS HERE, AND WE BELIEVE YOURS AS WELL, ARE
FOUNDED ON A SENSE OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE
DEFENSE OF THE WEST.

- WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY CON-
TEXT NOW AND IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ARGUES FOR
ACTIONS BASED ON INTERDEPENDENCE AND SOLIDARITY; WE THINK
THIS IS ALSO THE SPANISH VIEW; IN NATO THIS CAN BE
ACHIEVED WITH LITTLE LOSS OF FOREIGN POLICY FLEXIBILITY;
INDEED THE SECURITY GUARANTEES PROVIDED BY NATO CAN
BE SAID TO INCREASE THIS FLEXIBILITY.

- WITH RESPECT TO THE DEBATE WHICH MAY TAKE PLACE IN
SPAIN, WE FIND IT NATURAL AND CORRECT THAT THERE BE STUDY
OF ALTERNATIVES TO NATO -- SUCH AS ARMED NEUTRALITY AND
VARIOUS COMBINATIONS OF BILATERAL DEFENSE RELATIONSHIPS,
WHICH WE UNDERSTAND HAVE BEEN MENTIONED PUBLICLY IN
SPAIN -- FOR WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SPANISH DECISION
MUST BE BASED FIRMLY ON A CONSENSUS AS TO LONG-TERM
SPANISH INTERESTS; WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE FOR
THE U.S., SPAIN AND THE ALLIANCE TO APPROACH DISCUSSIONS
ON SPANISH MEMBERSHIP AS A NEGOTIATION IN WHICH TWO
PARTIES BARGAIN FOR ADVANTAGE; WE THINK BOTH OUR GOVERN-
MENTS SEE MATTERS IN THIS LIGHT.

- THE U.S. HAS LONG SUPPORTED SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO AS
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A FULL AND EQUAL MEMBER, ENJOYING ALL BENEFITS AS WELL
AS RESPONSIBILITIES OF MEMBERSHIP. THERE IS NO U.S.
TIMETABLE FOR THIS, AND THERE IS FULL RECOGNITION IN
THE U.S. THAT THE DECISION IS COMPLETELY ONE FOR THE
SPANISH PEOPLE TO MAKE, IN THE DEBATE WHICH WILL TAKE

PLACE IN THE FUTURE. END TEXT. STABLER

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